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I. IN THE NEWS

Total annual U.S. research and development spending is \$6.5 billions (gov't 3.1; industry 3.2; universities .08); 8% goes to "basic" research. *** Of \$35 millions for gov't. soc. sci. res., \$4 go for "basic" research. *** Eisenhower's expanded educational aid plan excludes soc. sci.; but James Miller (Psych., U. of Mich.), V-P Nixon, Harry Alpert (NSF), and SSRC evoked and aided a "Temporary Group (15) on Nat'l. Support for Behavioral Sci." which produced a manifesto Feb. 8 on Nat'l. Support for Behavioral Sci. (C. Sct. Rev., 2/1/58). (PROD #5 will comment on these developments.) *** New SSRC '67 report shows continued increase in funds (\$1250 M recd. in new grants); gov'tal. affairs senior research awards (5) and comparative politics grants (18) were striking moves in traditional fields. *** Carnegie Corp.'s annual report for year ending 9/30 showed strong involvement in pol. sci. Some of its projects were: a study of education of Americans in overseas programs (Syracuse U., Cleveland and Mangone, \$175 M); a new type of pol. sci. dept. and Intl. Affairs program (Northwestern U., Snyder, \$250 M); H. Morgenthau's Center for Study of Foreign Policy (Chicago, \$142 M); a review of ROTC programs (J. W. Masland, Dartmouth, \$40 M); travel expenses for soc. scientists attending intl. conferences (SSRC, \$150 M) and for official Amer. ass'n. representation at such conferences (including \$9 M to APSA); and a study of Amer. university programs overseas (Mich. State, Weidner, \$280 M). *** Ford Foundation's latest international grants include MIT's Center for Intl. Studies (\$750 M) to aid Indian Study Centers in a soc. sci. educ. program, and Harvard's Center for Intl. Studies (\$1000 M) for research and training in political-military strategy, training officials of underdeveloped countries, etc.; other FF intl. study grants went to Stanford, Cornell, Vanderbilt and Chicago for programs not apparently tied to pol. sci. *** The Bar Ass'n. of NYC is studying fed. conflict-of-interest laws with FF aid (\$47 M). *** The Pol. Sci. Dept. at U. of Calif. is heading a novel State legislative internship program with \$200 M from FF. *** Lilly Endowment and Fels Fund are chipping in \$26 M apiece to get 10 of nation's "best creative minds" to grapple with America's toughest social problems; pol. sci. is represented (on the "creative" side, i.e.). *** The new Institute for Defense Analysis, incorporated five-univ. gov't. contractor, advertises for soc. scientists with "genuine interest in operations analysis" and prof. training (1700 K St., N.W., Washington); inquiry indicates pol. scientists may qualify. *** Duke U. rec'd. \$90 M from Lilly Endowment for promoting Christian politics. *** Ten pol. scientists took part in 1st pol. sci. panel ever held at Amer. Ass'n. Adv. Sci. convention, Indianapolis, 12/29/57. *** Amer. Ass'n. for Pub. Opin. Res. meets in Chicago May 8-11; IPSA meets in Rome week of Sep. 14. APSA of course meets Sept. 4-6 in St. Louis. *** About 125 members of Mont Pelerin Society, intl. stronghold of old liberalism, gather at Princeton, Sept. 8-13, with Ludwig Erhard and F. Hayek starring. *** About 50 scholars gathered for annual meeting of Society for Pol. and Legal Philos. at Harvard, 12/29-30, topic "Community."

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2. Time, Work and Leisure

The Twentieth Century Fund's study of leisure which has just got under way bears the title, "Time, Work and Leisure".¹ Time was included as a major element because today's leisure is measured in units of time--hours, days, weeks. Work was included because today's time is considered free when it is not at grips with work. Work is free time's antonym.

Essentially our procedure is to gather material for the study from whatever source we can find. We look for data in a broad sweep. The study is designed to be comprehensive rather than particular. It takes in a historical and anthropological perspective and a philosophical inquiry as well as the latest trends in advertising and the results of studies of work motivation. We plan to build some new and up-to-date tables, to relate new factors to a general whole, to pit one kind of data against another. There will be times, we are sure, when we shall wish to be able to do a field or experimental or interviewing project ourselves but we do not expect to do so unless it is impossible to discover in other ways the answer to what we hold to be a fundamental question. For example, it would be interesting to have the results of a survey done on a national scale asking something like this: "Do you remember when your work week was last reduced? What have you done since then with the extra free time?" Perhaps in some cases we may be able to persuade the members of an ongoing research project to make certain additions or modifi-

cations that would help us and them mutually or at least would not cost them much. Our own budget, however, carries no provision for such studies.

In large part the study involves the scrutinizing, evaluating and analysis of existing research in government, business, labor and academic circles, and talking with leaders in each field. We also try to inform these circles of the study and invite them to make contact with us if they are engaged in pertinent activities. The Fund's usual news releases and other informational channels take care of this last aspect of the work, and we supplement it with personal and professional correspondence. The volume of mail so far received reveals an intense interest in the question of leisure in modern America.

The great concern over free time lifts it automatically onto the political stage. From the daily newspaper alone one learns almost enough to name the cast, design the scenography, and lay out at least the first act. Labor union leaders urge a shorter work week, with no decrease in weekly wages, as the way to keep technological advance from running into technological unemployment. Business leaders, the antagonists, declare themselves ill-disposed to pay for hours away from the job. They worry about how to keep costs low and production high if the work week grows short. Marketing and advertising men want to know whether they can hawk leisure

1. The Directors of the study are August Heckscher, Director of the Fund, and Sebastian de Grazia, Visiting Fellow of Princeton University. Thomas C. Fichandler, Research Associate of the Fund, is Associate Director.

goods in the future market. Park and recreation officials also want to know about the coming market for their particular commodity. The educators, playing both wings and backstage, throw in their lines about the place of leisure in child and adult education, and sometimes they harry the main characters about the good life for everyone and where free time fits into it. The government, according to the umpire theory of its functions, is supposed to referee the fight. It is of course interested in keeping peace among the factions. But a backdrop of missiles and interplanetary space colors its view of the benefits of free time for workers. As for the good life about which government leaders have been known occasionally to speak, the view already appears that the American way of life, a good life in itself, is in danger of extinction unless more action and less free time is taken. This view provides the theme for the second act, wherein all parties shall have to shift their initial roles, entrances and exits.

So much for some of the varying reasons for the interest in leisure today. They apply only to the personages in the drama and even for them they are but the surface of a motivation that has deeper, more subtle roots. There is also an audience. The audience is so close to the play, though, that like an army of bit players it may overwhelm the opera at any time. Do the people or a majority or a large part of the population want more free time? This question has not yet been clearly answered. One of the problems of the study is to make sense out of the many surveys of opinion that in one way or another bear on the question. Since the polls have been sponsored chiefly by groups of different and differing interest, their methods and substance, the phrasing of questions and the processing of data will differ too.

One can risk giving an pri-
ori answer by saying that people
will naturally want more free
time if they can have it on the
basis of no less pay. But this
isn't really a direct answer.
Many persons finding themselves
with more time free of the job,
go out, and as the phrase has it,
work by the light of the moon.
The Bureau of Census has esti-
mated that 1.8 million persons or
3% of the total employed in the
United States held more than one
job in 1950. In 1956 and 1957 the
figures were 3.5 million or 5.5%.
Only those multiple job holders
who have a primary job of 35
hours or more a week qualify as
moonlighters. On their sec-
ondary job they average about 12
hours a week. The Census fig-
ures do not try to establish a re-
lationship between the decrease
in work week and the increase in
moonlighting, but a connection is
apparent. At the very least one
can assert that moonlighting
would be literally moonlighting if
the primary job required 60 hours
a week as it did at the turn of the
twentieth century. The question
now is, can those who moonlight
today, putting in a working week
at the inside of 47 hours and at
the outside of 60 hours, be said
to want more free time or more
pay?

The problem is further com-
plicated if one looks to find which
classes of persons work the long-
est week (see Figure I, page 5).
Strangely enough, these classes
are the owners, managers, and
officials, the very ones presum-
ably that have most control over
their working hours, that do not
receive overtime pay, that by and
large have an official work week
as short as their clerical help
has. The clerks pack up and go
home on the dot. The bosses
stay on or take their work home.
An explanation for such conduct
might take us far into the realm
of the motives for work. The ex-
ample by itself, though, does

Figure I:
Hours Worked per Week by Persons at Work,
by Major Occupation Group;
Annual Averages: 1956a/

Major Occupation Group	Per Cent Working -				Average Weekly Hours
	Total Hours	Under 35 Hours	35-40 Hours	Over 40 Hours	
Total	100.0	17.5	45.0	37.4	41.8
Professional, technical and kindred workers	100.0	12.2	49.2	38.8	42.6
Farmers and farm managers	100.0	18.6	12.4	69.0	53.1
Managers, officials and proprietors (excl. farm)	100.0	6.8	28.0	65.2	50.8
Clerical and kindred workers	100.0	14.3	67.7	18.0	38.5
Sales workers	100.0	24.7	32.1	43.1	39.2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	100.0	9.2	55.7	35.2	42.1
Operatives and kindred workers	100.0	14.4	55.0	30.6	41.0
Private household workers	100.0	57.5	19.3	23.2	29.2
Service workers (excl. private household)	100.0	23.0	37.2	39.8	40.2
Farm laborers and foremen	100.0	40.8	16.7	42.5	39.6
Laborers (excl. farm and mine)	100.0	23.9	51.4	24.7	37.4

Source: Current Population Survey, U. S. Bureau of the Census.

a/ Average hours is an arithmetic mean computed from a distribution by single hours of work. Annual averages were computed from data for survey weeks in January, April, July and October.

point out the danger of starting with the simple assumption that people want more free time.

The same example brings us to the area where leisure crosses over into the field of the political theorist. If it is held that free time is highly prized today in the United States, certainly some thought is due the question why the country's most influential citizens don't appropriate more of it. Whether one holds that we live in a managerial society where the managers make up the elite or holds merely that the managers are not quite the topmost elite, one still must admit that elite theory in either case would place them above the cream line. If free time is something to get, why don't those who get most of what there is to get, get more if not the most of it?

The theoretical aspects of the study don't end here. Another one lies sleeping in the seemingly harmless fact that no one today argues that the individual needs more free time because of the fatigue of work, mental or physical. At the same time no other so compelling a reason is put forth for giving the individual more leisure. Labor leaders, the ones most eager to expand free time, don't give a reason. Everyone seems to take it for granted that more free time would be a good thing. This attitude strikes a change from that whereby the devil finds time for idle hands. Just when it began to be possible in England and America to speak of free time as desirable leisure rather than portentous idleness would be an interesting date to know. It may mark the historical point for a change in a

whole ideology of work. Perhaps that old devil no longer exists. Idleness is rarely mentioned today as a factor leading to social ills, even in the case of juvenile delinquency which was precisely the great fear of those who used the proverb.

It seems we have what passes for a popular demand for free time without much justification for it nor much indication of how it is to be filled. One of the study's members once had to change trains in a small town in Austria. Having a two-hour wait, he found himself with free time on his hands. At the station was one of the U. S. military offices in Europe whose major function is to see that troops traveling through a foreign country get the right train information and accommodations. Our colleague strolled over to the office and asked, "What's there to do in this town in an hour and a half?" The assured, complete answer was, "Get drunk". Some persons would say that this out-

look was typical of Americans. We would go only so far as to say the odds are that only an American could have given such an answer.

Without doubt, knowing the way men spend their free time opens the window to a good view on their culture. No man is a hypocrite in his pleasure, said Sam Johnson. Some civilizations have directed the thought of their best philosophers to the subject of leisure; ours has not been so inclined. Yet we have found that hardly does one approach the subject before he is wading deep in the philosophical problems of democracy, time, art, and free will. It is our hope that this study will have something to contribute here as well as to a clarification of the situation today. Actually the one contribution will be only as good as the other.

--August Heckscher
The Twentieth-Century Fund

3. A Program of Research in "Mass Dynamics"

I. The Subject Matter¹

The problems of this program are common to a class of topics usually called "mass phenomena" in social psychology, "collective behavior" in sociology, and often problems of "the mass society" in humanistic writings. While the earlier writers on these subjects meant crowds and the masses in the new cities, today, there is naturally more concern with the dispersed masses constituting

democratic publics, electorates, mass-communications audiences and consumers of popular-culture products (e.g., movies, popular music, etc.).

It is well-known that new methods and ways of thinking worked out in any one of these "mass" fields, for example, in the study of voting or mass communications, have proved transferable and generalizable across most all of them. To see the

1. The general program described in Part I above is from a collaborative proposal prepared jointly by the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University (William McPhee) and the University of Chicago (James Coleman). Part II, the illustration of the voting model, is drawn from work at Columbia University and is written by McPhee. Illustrations of Coleman's work on informal social structure in masses will be presented at a later date.

reason why this is possible, it is useful to note a parallel with two similar groupings of research, at the same level of generality. One of these is the class of studies of formal organizations (administration, industrial human relations, etc.). Such studies are usefully grouped together because their problems, e.g., those of hierarchical authority, derive from that form of social aggregation itself. Therefore, methods and theory appropriate to such problems can be generalized.

The other grouping, on the same plane of generality as are studies of the mass, is the class of studies of small face-to-face groups (group dynamics, socio-metry, etc.). Why are they convenient to study as a common specialty? It is because similar problems, e.g., those of control of deviants, are generated by the very face-to-face type of social system itself. The point is this: in studies of the small-groups, the organization, and the mass, a generalization of methods and ways of thinking has been possible because of the structural similarity of phenomena within the particular grouping.

In the case of mass studies, two such structural features characterize a broad range of mass problems:

1. In such phenomena, individuals act in relatively free, unorganized and comparatively unregulated ways. For example, what people view on television, for whom they vote, etc., are more or less "laissez-faire" matters of personal choice.

2. But precisely as in the case of laissez-faire economics, very large numbers of these relatively unorganized individual acts have organized patterns and sequences in the aggregate. These latter we refer to by

terms such as the stability of market situations, the flow of traffic patterns or migration, the pyramid of class stratification, the equilibrating tendency of the electoral system, the cycles of fashion and opinion, and so on.

When individuals are not comparatively autonomous (1 above), for example in a factory, one studies the problem by the methods of institutional or organizational analysis. On the other hand, if there are no organized and repetitive systems of relationships in the aggregate (2 above), the problem is indistinguishable from any other question of individual behavior. As a mundane example, if there were only a few isolated auto drivers, their behavior would be a question for, if anyone, a psychologist. It is what we call "traffic" that confronts us with additional problems involving aggregate pattern, mass flow, systemic interaction, etc. In the physical sciences, we differentiate between the general study of, say, hydrogen and oxygen molecules, and the special additional problems arising when they are in free motion, called hydrodynamics and the dynamics of gases. The name "mass dynamics" is a suitable term--although today pretentious, for reasons explained below--to refer to similar problems arising when free-acting individual units form mass social patterns.

Which of the above two characteristics has been exploited in the development of common methods and ways of thinking across these fields today? Obviously it is the first one listed above, the relatively free and unregulated character of the individual behavior. What has been taken as problematical in mass situations, as indeed it is so, is what the free-acting individual will do. Hence, that has been the main focus of modern empirical

study. As a research development, however, this individualistic analysis is already maturing. Thanks to the methodological progress of recent decades, there seem to lie ahead no insurmountable obstacles to finding out about the individual behavior involved in any mass situation.

However, the opposite is the case with modern methods and ways of thinking about problems of the second characteristic type itemized before; namely, in the mass fields there is little research today on the aggregate dynamics arising as a consequence of the combination of multitudinous individual acts in mass situations. The reason, of course, is that outside the special case of economics we do not know how to cope with such holistic problems by modern standards of evidence. This is the reason why a term such as "mass dynamics" has such a pretentious sound in modern research circles: it is an empty category because of the lack of methods for attacking such problems.

Because of the necessarily speculative character of classic sociological writings on these subjects, this problem has become confused with that of "theory vs. research." For the present discussion, however, the crucial distinction at issue is our relative competence in working at two different levels of magnitude of the mass phenomena. There is a good reason, however, why the aggregate magnitudes have become identified with "theory" in the speculative sense. The reason is that, except in special cases such as visible crowds and traffic--or when abundant aggregate data provide equivalent "visibility" to aggregate population or production--the holistic processes are too large numerically, too dispersed geographically, and often too extended in historical time to be observable and measurable in their total workings.

Processes at work in a small-group system in a laboratory can be observed in total. But those in an "electoral system" are too large to be seen in total operation; they necessarily require a greater reliance on indirect inference and "construction" from observed components. How to bring the latter kind of task more within the sphere of modern standards of evidence and precise theory is the long-run goal toward which the present work takes some experimental steps.

II. An Illustration

An example of one such experiment, out of several possible approaches, follows: In studies of an electoral system, distributions of what we call "party loyalty" or "party identification" are likely to play the same central role that the discrete vote does in the study of an individual in a single election. Therefore, how might one summarize in a compact way what we know today about the formation of political party loyalties? For example, we know that: parents play an important role in initiating their offspring's party convictions; but there is later adjustment toward compatibility with the spouse, friends, and co-workers; also the climate of opinion (e.g., the New Deal) makes a difference in formative years; and for various reasons, each act of voting itself probably has "auto-convincing" power, increasing the chances of the same party vote being cast again.

Now, when they are combined, even these simple facts turn out to be far too complex for the unaided human mind to cope with. For example, when would a youth not have the same party loyalties as his parents? One occasion is when his peers and spouse are of different persuasion. But, when would they be different? When their own par-

ents differ from the parents of the first person. But when would that occur? Soon the complications become too great to follow; that is, obvious knowledge becomes unobvious and unmanageable when we try to put the pieces together in even simple combinations.

Since there are millions of voters in actual masses, and the future problems one would want to work out are numerous and complicated, one is faced with the threat of not being able to use his research knowledge in the combinations necessary to deal with compound problems such as the electoral system. "Putting the pieces together," in such cases, is obviously a task for statistical models and computing machines. And this suggests one practical equivalent of our concern for aggregate dynamics. It is to translate discrete research knowledge about individuals into the language of calculative instruments capable of dealing with the complexities of their combination in aggregates.

One such translation of the processes forming and maintaining party loyalties discussed above is now at an intermediate stage. Starting from an inventory of research findings, those results referring to party loyalties are found capable of being generated by very simple and familiar assumptions, e.g., about learning, social contact, etc. These assumptions, in turn, have been translated into arithmetical operations which, with the aid of random numbers, seem to simulate the processes in question adequately enough for mechanical computations in large numbers. This simulation scheme, in turn, promises to be easily translatable into programming for high-speed computers and, although with more difficulty, eventually into more formal models. Work on such programs and model versions is currently underway.

It is interesting to look for-

ward to the long-range uses of any such scheme simulating voting in large numbers and numerous combinations. The chief hope is its use as an instrument to analyze and develop theories of the aggregate electoral system, as a system. This is not as hopelessly ambitious a problem as it seems, for most features of that electoral system other than the voting itself are fixed by law (e.g., the districting for Congress). Or they are determined by custom (e.g., seniority for Congressmen surviving turnover). Or they are given by available data (e.g., the census and records of past voting). The behavior of specific politicians themselves does not need to be predicted for these purposes, incidentally. This is because precisely what one wishes to examine are questions of how the system reacts to and restricts the possible moves they can make, for example, how it rewards some moves in the short-run, but others in the long-run, etc.

As an illustration of the kind of analyses eventually possible, preliminary calculations with very small and hypothetical examples suggest the following: that some of the apparently distasteful features of our electoral customs--the pitting of group against group, the fact of "blind" or automatic party voting, the outmoded sectional voting, etc.--may nevertheless be among the important sources of stability of the system. Or, as another example, some fairly obvious calculations indicate that appeals to particular groups (e.g., as Truman made in 1948) in contrast to appeals to more universal sentiments (e.g., as Eisenhower made in 1952-56) may be mutually equilibrating strategies. That is, success in one respect may imply a necessary vulnerability in the other, giving the system more viability than either tactic would permit alone.

Of course, such statements

are familiar enough in political science texts. But there is a glimpse of hope--in work like that illustrated above--for eventually developing analytical and calculating schemes which will permit a more precise examina-

tion of the formidable chains of reasoning involved in such "dynamic" problems of masses.

--William N. McPhee
Columbia University

--James Coleman
The University of Chicago

4. Political Scientists at the Behavioral Sciences Center

In October of 1957 the Ford Foundation announced a grant of \$5 million to continue, for a second five-year period, the operation of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. By 1964 almost 500 scientists and scholars professionally committed to the study of human behavior will have spent one academic year at the Center. Of these about 50 will have been political scientists. During a decade of great importance in the development of the behavioral sciences the Center will have played a conspicuous role.

What is the Center? To the Ford Foundation the Center is primarily a means of doing something about a special kind of teacher shortage. When the plans of the Ford Foundation were first widely announced, they included four programs for the betterment of human welfare and a fifth program for the increase of knowledge about human behavior. Most grants of the fifth program were designed to enable universities to increase their human resources for the study of human behavior.

Beginning with the concern of the Foundation about the shortage of competent teachers to meet the demand for graduate training in the behavioral science fields, one can leap to the idea of the Center in a few imaginative steps.

The first step is the notion of

raising the plateau by raising the peak. The Foundation might support graduate training programs in the universities. However, the Foundation might also concentrate in the short run on enabling leaders and potential leaders already engaged in graduate research training to add to their own competence, for the later benefit of colleagues and students.

The next step is the traditional notion of an extended period of relief from university duties--a sabbatical year.

Next, alternative to the idea of scattering faculty members all over the world on fellowships, is the notion of bringing them together at one place where they may form a temporary intellectual community.

The final step, realized in part during the planning stages but more fully in operation, is the idea that individuals chosen for fellowships are best able to decide for themselves what use to make of the opportunities presented to them. The Fellows are told on arrival: "You are free to decide how you will spend your time at the Center."

After a year of planning, the Center began operation in 1954 as a California-chartered non-profit institution, in a contemporary California-style set of buildings and grounds on a scenic low hilltop overlooking Stanford Univer-

city, the Santa Clara Valley, and the lower end of San Francisco Bay.

The chief continuing function of Directors and staff is the selection of Fellows. Nominations of likely potential Fellows were first solicited from department heads of American universities. New suggestions are constantly coming in from the universities, Fellows and former Fellows, advisers, and fellowship candidates. The chief criterion for selection is the candidate's demonstrated competence or promise as determined by his own referees, and by a panel of leaders in each field. Final responsibility for selections rests on the Board of Directors of the Center, which includes several leading behavioral scientists. The financial terms of the fellowships are generous compared to other kinds of fellowships. When a man receives an invitation to come to the Center he can think of removing himself and his family to a new community for an academic year without being too much concerned about the financial consequences of his decision. Fellows live in rented houses in Palo Alto or surrounding communities. Each Fellow has a private study at the Center. Library facilities are available at the Center and at Stanford University. Research assistance, secretarial services, supplies, a modest IBM installation, and some funds for special research or consultation service are available.

What the Fellows do: The pattern of group activities followed by Fellows is indicated by the following quotations from an informal report for the year 1956-57:

"The activities involving the largest number of Fellows in session together were the seminars, lectures by Fellows, lectures by outsiders, introductory panel discussion meetings, special meetings or conferences, and formal classroom instruction. Less ex-

tensive work and discussion combinations ranged all the way from workgroups, which in some respects were indistinguishable from the seminars, to work projects or informal encounters not engaging more than two Fellows. This latter activity, although more difficult to identify and describe, was considered by many Fellows to be more important than the organized sessions scheduled in the weekly calendar. One special item was the use made by many of the Fellows of our statistical consultant. Finally, there was the wide range of solitary work and study engaged in by each Fellow.

"In the course of the year seminars were conducted under the following titles:

The Arts and Human Behavior; Behavioral Sciences; Biology and Human Behavior; Economic Development; Mental Health and Organization; Motivation; Primitive Political Systems; Psychosocial Analysis of Political Decision-Making; Signs, Symbols, and Language; Social Stratification.

... In general, the seminars were used to present surveys of the fields relevant to the seminar topic, to present for reaction the work already done or contemplated in some special aspect of the subject, to try out new ideas, or to map out possibilities for future work. In no case was the seminar organized for the collaborative production of a report or paper by the whole group....

"On many occasions Fellows would lecture in the course of the seminars. In addition, more formal presentations of wider appeal were scheduled separately on the calendar.... After Christmas, fortnightly dinners followed by lectures were arranged.... Also, about twenty lectures were delivered before the Fellows by visitors...."

Another way of describing the Center is to present a Fellow's-eye view of the opportunities it offers. It is possible to do this after scanning the memoranda that Fellows have submitted at the end of their fellowships evaluating their experience. Some of the voluminous comments from the 1955-56 Fellows can be briefly summarized as follows:

Most of the Fellows identified particular kinds of opportunities they found at the Center: opportunities for theoretical work, for critical self-appraisal, for acquiring breadth, and for improvement of capacities as a teacher. In many cases the positive opportunities at the Center were reported simply in terms of time. The majority of the Fellows reported that they had more complete command of their own time at the Center. Many other Fellows referred to the opportunities at the Center in terms of freedom from various kinds of obstacles that confront them in their universities: teaching responsibilities, administrative chores and obligations, academic politics, distractions and interruptions, the necessity to make public appearances, etc. One of the major features of the Center is the amount of intellectual interaction that takes place among the Fellows. Different aspects of interaction at the Center were stressed by different Fellows. The following points were each mentioned by a substantial number of Fellows:

1. The Fellows communicate across disciplinary lines.
2. The range of interaction is very wide.
3. The depth and duration of interaction at the Center are considerable.
4. The quality of colleagues at the Center is very high.

In comparison with the situation to be found on a hypothetical leave of absence with salary, great emphasis was placed upon the special

conditions of access, one Fellow to another, that would not be found elsewhere: "others have time to communicate here"; "less opportunity or courage elsewhere to seek out people"; etc.

How effectively is the Center doing its job? It was necessary to try to answer this question when the Center asked the Ford Foundation for a renewal of its first five-year grant. The Center's report to the Foundation went in part as follows:

"The effectiveness of the Center can be assessed confidently, but it cannot be measured accurately. Since the primary function of the Center is to 'improve markedly the level of competence of a considerable number of behavioral scientists,' the effectiveness in fulfilling this function will eventually be appraised in terms of the higher level of competence shown by those who have been in residence at the Center. As has been frequently pointed out, it will be some years later before the full effects of the experience at the Center on the Fellows will become visible, and when they do appear, it will not be possible to establish with certainty that the Center is primarily responsible for them.

"The evidence that exists most abundantly concerning the successful accomplishment of the purposes of the Center is in the form of written reports from Fellows and ex-Fellows.... A number of Fellows were unable to specify the effects of their experience--'To put it briefly, for me it was a wonderful year, but others will have to judge whether it did me any good.' Others were able to specify how they had increased their specialized competence, acquired new work habits, strengthened their self-images as behavioral scientists, acquired new knowledge, shifted their focus of scholarly interest, or acquired new ways of thinking. A number

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of Fellows speculated or reported on the effect of the year at the Center upon their colleagues and students back in the university environment. In a considerable number of cases, plans for research or instruction growing out of the year at the Center are clearly under way or in prospect...."

What difference does the Center make to political scientists?

The relevance of the Center to political science will be realized through those political scientists who take fellowships at the Center. Political science is just about as heavily represented at the Center as history or psychology or sociology. The Center should make just about as much difference, and pretty much the same difference, to political science as it does to other fields.

One might currently think of political science as an uneasy and shifting blend of historical, philosophical, literary, and empirical components and raise the question whether the Center is operated with any doctrinal bias. There is an admitted interest on the part of the Center in strengthening relationships between empirical and non-empirical components in all fields; it may be that this interest touches on special sensitivities among political scientists. If there were a more specific doctrinal bias, one might look for it by examining the roster of political scientists who have been awarded fellowships. This roster for the first four years is as follows: Robert E. Agger, North Carolina; Gabriel A. Almond, Princeton; Christian Bay, Oslo; Eugene Burdick, California; E. Lane Davis, Iowa; Karl Deutsch, M.I.T.; David Easton, Chicago; Heinz Eulau, Antioch; Alexander George, RAND; Robert Lane, Yale; Harold Lasswell, Yale; Klaus Knorr, Princeton; James G. March, Carnegie I.T.; Herbert McClosky, Minnesota; Constantin Melnik, Paris; Vincent Ostrom, Oregon; Frank Pinner,

California; Itiel de Sola Pool, M.I.T.; Philip Rieff, Brandeis; Arnold Rogow, Iowa; Richard Snyder, Northwestern.

The following comment by a younger political scientist after he had completed his year at the Center would indicate that political scientists are capable of holding up their end in balance with other disciplines:

"As a 'political scientist' by union card, I came to the Center with all the feelings of inferiority that political scientists have today in reference to the other disciplines. The reasons for the feelings are many; suffice it to say that I no longer feel the inferiority. The reasons are, I think, something as follows: I discovered the paucity of theory, generalized variable, and the artificiality of so many of the methods currently being used in psychology, sociology, etc. I also discovered that the problems that the traditionalists in political science have long been working on (and traditionalist was my own term of approbation for most political scientists) are a damned sight more significant in human behavior terms than the problems so frequently worked on by my fellow disciplinarians.... Part of the increased assurance that political science has a future if (and it's a big if) they aren't absorbed by such as the political sociologists, or become anachronistic as much of history has become, came from observing the political sociologists.... It became apparent that whereas these people have made some significant advances in conceiving of an empirical approach to political problems, their own commitments are bringing them up against the frontiers that they are going to find it difficult to cross alone...."

One of the best statements written to date on the role of the Center was written by another political scientist. It stands by itself without interpretation, and it

is used here to end this brief account:

"Certain of the benefits made available by the Center are so obvious as to require little discussion. Among these, for example, are the almost unequalled opportunities to bring work to completion or to plan new research (individually or in collaboration with other Fellows). Similarly, it must be assumed that intellectual growth will in some measure be assisted by the opportunity to read and think and discuss--pursuits that lie at the very heart of the Center's scheme of activities. Inevitably, some people will find that their experience at the Center has turned them to new directions of thought and research, while others may gain greater command over familiar areas without undertaking entirely new directions of theory or research. In either case, a gain will be registered for social science, although the latter is a less tangible gain. It goes

without saying that any gain will have consequences for one's home university, and for one's students and colleagues. In certain fields such as history, political science, and anthropology, but also sociology and economics to some extent, the Center is likely to become a significant force in their development as 'behavioral' sciences, encouraging them to undertake more scientific postures and to move away from the traditional normative and/or purely descriptive pre-occupations which have so often held back their advancement. It cannot be expected that the Center alone will ever determine the style of social science thought and investigation in the country but it can certainly have an important influence in this respect, and will very likely do so if it continues in existence for any length of time."

--Preston S. Cutler
Center for Advanced Study in the
Behavioral Sciences

5. Recruitment in Politics

The subject of political recruitment has always been a central theme in both normative and empirical work in politics. Governments, social orders, and political groups are distinguishable by the way they recruit leadership. The gates and the gatekeepers to political ascent are key factors in the social structure.

In this note, primary attention is given to career patterns and nominating or selection techniques.

While recruitment has been a matter of concern, the close anal-

ysis of political careers has been neglected. A distinction must be made between the study of the social characteristics and the study of career patterns of an elite.¹ The latter is concerned with politics as a "vocation"--as skill, work and occupation.

Career study is developmental--focussing attention on the interaction of persons and roles through institutions. Investigation may emphasize the position sequences or it can lay greater stress on the person himself. Attention to both is perhaps most desirable.

1. Matthews, D. R., The Social Background of Political Decision-Makers (Doubleday, 1954) is a recent illustration. See my "Study of Political Leadership," American Political Science Review, Sept. 1950, for a discussion.

Recruitment and Selection

A distinction should be drawn between recruitment and selection. Recruitment refers to basic factors that affect eligibility for political activism. Institutional factors, such as the composition of the population, level of economic development, etc., affect recruitment. Selection refers to the immediate process of nomination or election. In politics recruitment takes place at all levels. Positions are being vacated all the time. This makes for several types of recruitment: a) those who move up to higher positions from the next lower level; b) those who advance by jumps; c) recruitment from outside the political organization. In theory, political recruitment does not require specific training. In practice, every political jurisdiction has customary channels to power.

Rate of Ascent

Rate of ascent varies widely. Bureaucratic political organizations move people up at a slower rate than do organizations which are less articulated. Comparative studies would be most useful. The rate of ascent will also vary with the dispositions of the electorate. Where voters have strong party identifications choices are more restricted. Rigid and stereotyped public expectations may limit the range and rate of recruitment. Sponsorship is another factor that influences rate of ascent. Sponsorship is the grooming of a man by a senior, influential person within the party. A group or faction within the party, or an interest group may exercise sponsorship.

Paths of Ascent

Multiple routes and switching:
Theoretically, the political esca-

lator may be boarded or left at various levels. Arrivals and departures may be permanent or temporary. Though points of entry are multiple, the state legislature is the most common port of entry. The fact that the legislative task is ordinarily biennial facilitates entry. Its biennial character and low salary however mean a sacrifice of income, particularly to younger men. Those who serve in the legislature as an adjunct to their business or professional activity are considerably favored.

At various times in a political career there may be a "branching off" into other positions via appointment. Such appointive positions on a state or national level ordinarily facilitate political advancement. Switching off to positions outside politics, such as prominent business positions, may help a career materially. Since there is a close relationship between various interests and government, politics is interdependent with several career lines--business, law, appointive governmental positions. A political career is also interdependent with its own other roles, that is, within itself, because the movements and changes at each level are, in various ways, dependent upon those occurring at other levels.

Careers--Two Models

In the study of careers the bureaucratic model is often used as a measuring rod for all others. The bureaucratic pattern is usually described in the following way.² Seniority and an age-related increase in skill and responsibility automatically push men in the desired direction and within a single organization. Recruits enter at the bottom in positions of least prestige and move up through the ranks as they gain in age, skill and experience.

2. Mannheim, K., Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge (P. Kecskemet, ed.), (New York: Oxford, 1953), 247-49.

In politics no such simple model has been elaborated. One could easily devise one based upon regular progression via local, state, and federal positions. Such a model would be largely fictional. A certain amount of bureaucratic mobility operates in politics in the old machine-type of party organization. On the whole, political careers have many streams, and positions are leapfrogged or zig-zagged. Since political careers resemble enterprises, there is a need to elaborate models that offer close approximations to reality. Such models might be devised by sampling state legislators, governors, Congress and the federal executive, in specified time periods.

The Tensions of Ascent and Descent

Factional conflict derives some of its fuel from the tensions generated in political ascent. It might be useful to suggest some types with which factional tensions are often associated: 1) the eager beaver; 2) the outsider; 3) the lone wolf.

Competition for Place

Since the number of political positions is limited at any given time, there are inevitably political casualties. The perennially defeated candidate, the discredited candidate, the too old and too young are examples. Inappropriate racial, religious or ethnic extraction--these and other factors make for the spoilage of the race. For some "rejects" there are patronage positions--siberias with dignity to assuage personal or factional wounds. Political renegades often come from the ranks of those without such comforts. For this reason, the careers of the defeated are as fruitful for re-

search (if not more so) than the successful.

Perspectives of Career

A career has its subjective aspects--"it is a moving perspective on which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions and the things which happen to him."³

How are career perspectives developed? The interaction between veterans and novices is one of the principal factors in shaping a concept of success. This interaction may occur in political party associations. It may derive from the mass media and their delineation of political roles. Somewhere in this process the individual frames a career rationale.

Amateurs and professionals are distinguishable in terms of career perspectives. The professional looks on his political role as a job, and as a means to status, money, etc. His dominant orientation is toward a concept of rules and techniques of the game. His rationale may be that he just "likes it." The amateur is usually imbued with some "idealistic" rationale. He may see himself as a critic, a public leader, endowed with a mission on behalf of the public interest.

One of the interesting facets for investigation is to observe through time the "professionalization" of the amateur, and the "amateurization" of the old professionals. This can be done by observing a legislator over several continuous sessions or by repeated interviews at several continuous sessions.

Career Identifications

Since there are several facets

3. E. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person," American Journal of Sociology, XLIII (November, 1951), 409-10.

to political work, careers become distinguished by their primary orientation: 1. An orientation toward the title and its status; 2. A commitment to the task or the skills involved; 3. A commitment to a party or institution; 4. An orientation in terms of the significance of one's position in the larger society. A projective type of interview, in which the respondent is asked to diagnose a typical legislative situation, would be most useful in getting at identifications.

Political Types and Recruitment

There is a relationship between a particular political role and a distinctive career line. The bureaucrat, the theorist, the organizer have distinctive career

patterns.⁴ What is needed is a paradigm that identifies particular career patterns with particular legislative roles. Form and Miller have developed model career patterns for several occupations.⁵ Floro has suggested a typology of career patterns based upon the city-managers.⁶

Below is a partial structure around which hypotheses may be formulated.

A sample of legislators, federal or state, could be interrogated to determine if such relationships are perceived by the participants. Or, alternatively, over a large sample it could be determined whether any statistical correlations exist among these variables.

Source	Path	(How) Recruitment	(Does what) Legislative Roles
1. Party Func- tionary	1. Consistent Progression	1. Co-optation	1. Negotiator
2. Interest Group Leadership	2. Jumper 3. Floater	2. Self-starter	2. Spokesman
3. Voting Bloc (ethnic group) Leadership		3. Inner-Circle Choice	3. Technical Expert
4. Prestigious Community Po- sition		4. Factional Choice	4. Key man
			5. Interest group agent
			6. Parliamen- tarian
			7. Pipeline
4. Lasswell, H. D., <u>Power and Personality</u> (Norton, 1948), p. 21.			
5. "Occupational Career Pattern As A Sociological Instrument," <u>American Journal of Sociology</u> , LIV, No. 4, 317-19.			
6. "Types of City Managers," <u>Public Management</u> , Oct. 1954, 221-5.			

--Lester G. Seligman
University of Oregon

6. Political Aspirations of Law Students

A pilot study has been completed in a Southeastern University Law School on "law students and politics." Several preliminary results can already be reported. Dividing first and third year law students into those expressing some personal inclina-

tion to go into government or politics (personal political orientation, or PPO) and those expressing no such interest (the NPPO), we find relationships between different types of factors and PPO. These relationships differ for first and third year students, sug-

gesting that maturation or the law school environment or career aspirations are shifting. In brief, we find strong relationships between a) small-town and lower-class origins; b) such personality characteristics as sociability, manipulativeness, flexible morality, a "leader" self-image, tentativeness about democratic dogma; c) such perceptual factors as favorable images of politics and politicians; and d) such political role-playing aspirations as being a candidate, running a candidate's campaign and contacting voters, on the one hand, and PPO on the other, among first year law students. These relationships either wash out or weaken considerably among third year students. Our explanatory hypothesis is that law students are initially attracted to politics for reasons of small-town political culture, upward social mobility, and the convergence of personality and perceptual dispositions of importance in professional politicians' roles. Third year students, on the other hand, are becoming attracted to politics for "bread and butter" reasons; for instance, political involvement may help in getting started in practice.

This study is the first step in a long-range study of political in-

vovement by newcomers, particularly lawyers, in local, state and national politics. A study is being designed for this spring wherein a national sample of law students is to be given a questionnaire based on a revision of the one used in the pilot study. Future re-interviews are also planned. At the same time a questionnaire will be administered to selected samples of politicians.

I would like to ask the cooperation of colleagues elsewhere. I need the help of persons to administer this questionnaire in selected law schools to the three annual classes in a classroom or other group setting. The questionnaire should take less than an hour to complete, and the cooperation of the law school's administration should be fairly easy to secure. By this method we could do the study without much money, a necessary feat since the project was turned down by the Ford Foundation as something they could not support. I shall, in turn, do such research tasks for my correspondents as they may in the future require. Thus we may be able to do comparative research on a shoe-string.

--Robert A. Agger
University of North Carolina

7. Cabinet Instability in France

If the historian is to be more than a mere chronicler of events, he must fashion a part of his accumulated knowledge into generalizations. But if generalizations be the historian's highest achievement, they are also his most insecure one. Few generalizations are more easily qualified than those concerning cabinet instability in modern France.

Although no simple explanation exists, the historian yet must, and to a large extent does, explain the seemingly perpetual governmental shifts which have characterized the Third and Fourth Republics. To some degree he can minimize the importance of cabinet shifts because many changes resemble a game of musical chairs,¹ and because French bureaucracy seldom

1. There have been fewer Foreign Ministers in France than Secretaries of State in the United States during the period 1945-1957.

undergoes a complete shakeup. However, a more analytic response usually involves the complicated French party system, or an understanding of "the French character" in terms of "A Revolutionary Tradition" or confusions resulting from a desire for both liberty and equality; perhaps it undertakes a systematic study of critical events preceding a cabinet crisis in conjunction with party positions and individual characterizations.

All of these concepts explain a part of the French political problem, and all of them contain a relative amount of truth. However, a more complete understanding of cabinet instability may result from a closer examination of the individual deputies, their actions, and the pressures they reflect, for the deputies bear the final responsibility for replacing one cabinet with another.

An accurate analysis of the political and social structure of the French Chamber of Deputies is an essential step in any systematic study of French cabinet instability. By isolating workable categories and identifying minority elements a much clearer insight into the structure of the Chambre is obtained. The results of this first phase of research tend to confirm previous generalizations to a large extent.² But it confirms them with greater precision than heretofore possible.

To provide the raw material for such a structural analysis, selected background material was gathered for the 608 members of the Chamber in the period 1924-1928. Because the 1924-1928 session is sufficiently distant to allow reasonable perspective on its activities, and because it is sufficiently current to have faced

2. The final stages of the project are still in the process of tabulation.

problems essentially contemporaneous. It proved to be an acceptable period for testing purposes. The information obtained on each deputy was extended to fifteen categories as shown below, and transferred to punched cards:

- a. Party affiliations, if any.
- b. Ideological group, based on party alignment.
- c. Electoral campaign liste.
- d. Margin of electoral victory (results of scrutin du liste).
- e. Economic-geographic area of election.
- f. Whether a residence was maintained in the departement of election.
- g. Whether a local office was held in the departement of election.
- h. Whether a first election or re-election.
- i. Occupation, aside from role in the Chamber.
- j. Whether in retirement from ordinary occupation at time of election.
- k. Age, in 1924.
- l. Whether a member of the nobility.
- m. Extent of education.
- n. Author of published work.
- o. Place (departement) of birth.

Although investigating such a detailed background for each deputy posed several obstacles, reliable background information was available for a great majority of the total 1924-1928 Chamber membership.

From this categorized information a large number of traits and patterns of traits were enumerated. Used in combinations, a tremendous number of patterns could be formed. Seventy-nine usable tables were derived. Perhaps none of the results would surprise a student of modern France, but they are precise

measurements and they indicate the strength or weakness of many generalizations. For instance, I discovered that: 1) The Radical-Socialistes elected deputies in 54% of the 89 départements of metropolitan France represented in the Chamber. No other group, organized or unorganized, came close to this kind of geographical spread; 2) The deputies elected by an absolute majority totaled 40% of the Chamber; 47% were elected by being above their liste average, and 13% with fewer votes than their liste average; 3) Radical-Socialiste candidates were the most successful in gaining election by an absolute majority, winning 44% of all Chamber seats won on the first tour. But within groups, the Conservatives (extreme-right) elected 77% of their small group by absolute majority; 4) Those maintaining a residence in their area of election totaled 92% of all deputies elected, and absenteeism was heaviest in the Center and Right ideological groups; and 5) 61% of the deputies were re-elected deputies, some having served as many as ten previous terms in the Chamber. The Center groups were most strongly entrenched in this respect as only 24% of their membership represented new blood, while over half of the Socialiste deputies were new to the Chamber of Deputies.

None of the few examples provides any really new or startling information; they do offer accurate and detailed statements on which generalization can be based.

It should, however, be remembered that this background survey is only the necessary prelude to an analysis of cabinet instability. Though it provides a much clearer insight into the structure of the Chamber of Deputies, at best it offers only a partial answer to the overall question.

Between 1924 and 1928 French governments called a total of 190

votes of confidence. Although the fourth Poincaré ministry stayed in power for more than half of the four-year life of the assembly, in less than two years eight cabinets fell from power on the basis of those 190 votes of confidence. The method, then, over and beyond the structural survey, will be to record the vote of each deputy on each confidence issue and to divide the confidence votes into categories determined by the issue voted on. Budgetary issues comprise the bulk of the confidence votes, but they can be divided into military issues, class and social issues, and so forth.

Which group responds to what stimulus? Is this clearly a matter of party issues and party discipline? Are many deputies simply irresponsible? How often do individuals break party lines, and on what type of issue? Does this occur on a voluntary or involuntary group basis? Do deputies from industrial regions react quite differently from deputies representing maritime districts? If so, does this hold true for all issues or only issues of a specific type, and are they consistent in their disagreement? Do deputies elected by absolute majority reflect their seemingly greater electoral freedom in their voting records? In brief, how independent, or how restricted, were the members of the Chamber of Deputies in their votes of confidence, with special attention being paid to non-party clusters?

When concluded, this approach should confirm or deny many generalizations concerning French political behavior. The period 1924-1928 clearly represents a political, or ideological, shift to the left. That this was the temper of the nation can be shown by analyzing the areas of leftist strength, for these were areas with a high degree of political consensus among the voters and the left showed great strength in winning seats by absolute majority.

But, in itself, this does not serve to clarify the French political scene. Were the Radical-Socialists really left-of-center on political and social issues and conservative on economic issues; was the Center a group of real or only apparent flexibility?

A systematic investigation of

these questions seems likely to offer precise understanding of the nature of cabinet instability between 1924 and 1928, and hence to provide a stronger base for the interpretation of French political behavior.

--W. E. Adams
Stanford University

8. Prison Government and Communists; The Use of Case Studies

The real purpose of this note is to advertise a particular brand of political research. In order to push the product, a sample research design is provided first. The pitch for a conceptually meaningful application of the case approach follows. Anyone who wishes to use the sample without waiting for the accompanying advertisement is welcome to do so. No one needs to wait until the last word is in on methodology.

The sample design is addressed to a problem of both practical and theoretical import. What is the nature of the communist appeal? At what point in the body politic does this "virus" take root? Through what channels does it spread? Under what conditions does it flourish? To be sure, practical difficulties, whether they be sore feet or the collapse of a social system, are not problems for methodology, per se. It is the absence of validated explanations for a phenomenon which invites research. Still, when research can take its theoretical problems from the pile of practical difficulties, it may insure a warmer welcome.

One obvious source of hypotheses about the impact of communist ideology is the set of assumptions underlying American policy abroad. That policy, where it

appears uncompromised by immediate military considerations, attempts to alleviate economic and social conditions that may dispose a people to accept communist doctrine. On the fundamental assumption (never conclusively tested) that political affiliation is an act of "rational" choice, the argument declares that persons subject to extreme environmental deprivations and class discrimination are logically candidates for conversion to communist dogma. By means of this line of reasoning, projects which command respect on grounds of humanity and justice are further rationalized as devices to avert the Red peril.

These hypotheses, so consistent with humane considerations and entrenched habits of thought, are apt to be taken as self-evident axioms. The only brake on the disposition of the liberal scholar to accept such assumptions uncritically is the inconsistency of certain evident facts. The major reservoir of radical converts seems to be the middle class of a society, people caught in a conflict of class identifications. The poorest and most exploited elements of a society often provide the most stubborn resistance to programs which seem calculated to win their rational support. Communist doctrine itself takes note of a "lumpenprole-

tariat", unresponsive to its appeals. It is these facts, demonstrated in several national settings, which give rise to an alternative hypothesis about the impact of communism. The appeal of communism may be a function of personality (or the personality consequences of certain social conditions) and quite unrelated to environmental deprivations or class discrimination. The research suggested here is designed to examine these hypotheses.

Forget, for a moment, the cliché that social science cannot be experimental and imagine the study of this problem in an ideal-type situation. The ideal situation would confine a social group for a considerable period of time under conditions of constant observation, severe deprivation, and extreme social discrimination. The observation can be made a function of the discrimination itself rather than an intervening variable. Into this group of known individuals, a small number of able and dedicated communist organizers would be injected. Results would be measured in units of social interaction.

Fantastic? Yes, as a laboratory creation. But social science can exploit situations which it would be madness to create. The natural setting in which to study the problems posed is that of a penal institution. "Common sense" says that prison inmates should be ripe for plucking by communist agitation. Inmates have a minimum of tangible attachments to the dominant political system. They are a class without property and, for the most part, come from a class without property prior to their incarceration. Their situation subjects them to constant discrimination in terms of an impas-

able caste line. In addition, inmate culture defines the prisoner as a member of an exploited and oppressed class, a product of poverty and ignorance, unable to escape from his condition by legal means.¹ Though this ideology emerges as an excuse for criminal acts committed in the past, it would seem to provide fertile ground for the seeds of communist doctrine. The recent history of riot in penal practice proves that inmate society is not unwilling to rebel against its constituted authorities. Whatever the wisdom of this course may be, national policy has dictated the arrest of the most skilled and dedicated communist agitators and their introduction to this captive audience.

Assuming that the acceptance of communism rests on a rational evaluation of one's economic and social condition, the commitment of communist leaders to a general prison would seem to be a very risky business. Indeed, this gives another practical cast to the research proposed. However, the predicted finding is that an inmate community will prove the most hostile audience imaginable for communist doctrine. If comparative studies are possible, it is predicted that the more repressive and abusive a penal regime is, the less responsive its inmate society will be. Should these predictions be borne out, an implication is that the appeal of communism is "irrational", that is, a function of personality rather than of environmental condition.

The procedures of inquiry would be essentially sociometric measures of interaction patterns. A minimum condition of influence in this setting is interaction. In a social group which reduces other bases of acceptance to a minimum,

1. For an extended discussion of inmate culture see Richard McCleery, The Strange Journey (University of North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science, 1953).

acceptance of the ideology of the individual can be roughly equated with his admission to the social processes of the group. These interactional measures of influence may be supplemented by interviews with reliable informants from the social group as long as biasing factors in the reports are taken into account. The socio-metric measures will be especially useful if, as predicted, the primary type of response is hostile.

It is only reasonable to assume that the communist inmate will gain some amount of following in the prison setting. This will permit a test of the personality hypothesis with any overt converts. The more civilized prisons of the day compile a mass of tests and records, social histories, and even psychiatric diagnoses on the population. This material would serve to identify any distinguishing characteristics of those converted. If the assumptions held here are correct, the communists will be identifiable in terms of the lumps on their heads.

* * * * *

The above sample is intended to whet appetites for research which attempts to match experimental conditions. A worthy goal for methodology would be to rescue the case study from the disrepute to which abuse and opportunism have reduced it. There is still a tendency in the discipline to confuse political theory with metaphysics. This takes the form of an attempt to understand political behavior in terms of the internal dynamics or unconditioned will of the organism. However, the substance of a political science will emerge, if ever, from a specification of behavioral patterns in

terms of the conditions under which they occur. That is the substance of any science. Politics suffers in comparison largely because of a stubborn determination to specify "inherent" behavioral patterns for all conditions of man or under no conditions at all.

The virtue of the case study is that it can fulfill the logical demands of experimental inquiry and relate behavior to its environmental circumstances. The heart of the case approach is the selection of a situation for study that provides and controls the conditions under which theory expects a certain pattern of behavior to emerge. This is not to deprecate political theory. The question of what type of government produces the just man ought to be explored. It ought to be explored by a careful study of the human results produced by the various prison regimes operating in this country. Each of these various regimes is dedicated to turning out just (rehabilitated) men.

The question of how different governmental regimes affect the cultures which emerge under them ought to be examined far more thoroughly than has been the case so far. Perhaps the only instance of government as a variable quite independent of the wishes, demands or culture of the subject population is the case of prison government. Differences or changes in penal regimes produce measurable differences in the social processes, leadership, and value systems of their subjects.² These and many others general problems can be studied under the controlled conditions of the prison community. Yet a prison is only one instance of a manageable society in microcosm.

2. For the prison as an "ideal type" setting, see Norman A. Polansky, "The Prison as an Autocracy," The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, XXXIII (May-June, 1942), 16-22. For the social impact of change from authoritarian to liberal regimes see Richard McCleery, Policy Change in Prison Management (Michigan State University Governmental Research Bureau, 1957).

The case approach has suffered at the hands of young scholars who use it in any convenient location for a Master's exercise. It has suffered more from those who employ it as an anecdotal device to propound some pattern of behavior as a universal and abstract it from its conditions. It has suffered most at the hands of those who select an instance in terms of the intrinsic significance of the event rather than the theo-

retical relevance of its conditions. These last are men whose scientific rigor would demand that Newton be hit on the head by a planet instead of an apple. The case study, employing existing circumstances in terms of theoretical criteria and conceived of in the sense of a critical experiment, is a tool for the building of a political science.

--Richard McCleery
Michigan State University

9. A Challenge - Response Theory of International Relations

There is neither an accepted body of theory nor serious competition among opposing schools of thought at present in international relations. Data accumulates rapidly but, since it cannot be assimilated in the absence of a theoretical framework, understanding does not grow commensurately. A practical theory around which to organize the data is proposed here.

In its most general form the theory states simply that under various conditions a nation (or group of nations) will wish to extend its authority or influence at the expense of another nation (or group of nations). The nation (or group of nations) so threatened will tend to respond to the challenge by trying to block these designs. This response will, in turn, appear as a challenge to the first country, thus eliciting a response from it. It is believed that this framework, properly elaborated, will allow for the interpretation of a number of important aspects of international relations.

Materials Required for Testing the Challenge-Response Theory

It is proposed that the development and evolution of the Cold War be traced and analyzed, using the

challenge-and-response theory as a framework for investigation. The full elaboration of the theory would have to be the work of many hands and many years but an initial project could raise a number of central questions, begin to sketch in some answers, and show how research that has already been done might be adapted and put to use. Advantage might be taken of the reservoir of materials pertaining to the period between World Wars I and II. The initial project might employ part of the time of a team consisting of a political scientist, social psychologist, and historian, over a two-year period.

Among the questions that the project would raise are the following:

1. What are the different types of challenge and response that may be available to a nation? These would include:

- a. traditional diplomatic action
- b. military actions or threats
- c. economic action of a variety of kinds, overt and covert
- d. the use of propaganda and psychological warfare meas-

ures

- e. scientific and technological developments
- f. para-military challenges, such as the organization of resistance movements, guerrilla warfare, or *coups d'etat*
- g. political warfare activities, such as the organization of front groups, the utilization of veterans' groups, youth groups and others, subsidization of newspapers and so on.

2. What have been the changing forms and techniques of challenge and response over a period of time? What factors have influenced these changes? What has been the impact of technology on them?

3. Under what conditions is a challenge likely to arise?

4. Why do some countries become aggressive and others not?

5. Why is a country aggressive at one time and not at another? Questions of this kind automatically direct attention toward events within a country--its traditions, dominant attitudes, and political life.

6. Why does a challenge take one form rather than another?

7. What types of challenge appear to be the most effective? Under what conditions are they effective?

8. In what combinations can these different types of challenge be used most effectively?

9. Are there new kinds of challenge that can be developed, or new variations of older types?

10. What are the different types of response that may be utilized?

11. Under what conditions should a nation reply in kind to a particular challenge and when should it respond by different means? Should Soviet political warfare in the Near

East, for example, be combatted by counter action of the same kind or by propaganda, military aid, or economic aid? To what extent can an ideological offensive be countered by other means? A nation faced with a challenge (or trying to devise one) will need to ask such questions if it is to maximize its advantages and minimize those of its opponent.

12. Why is there a response under some conditions and not others? A challenge will customarily elicit a response but this is not invariably the case. A failure of leadership at a critical point could inhibit a response as could the sheer magnitude of a given challenge.

13. What causes the intensity of response to vary over a period of time? How did the Britain of the Munich crisis become the Britain of the Summer of 1940?

14. What circumstances make for a creative rather than a purely defensive response to a challenge? For example, the United States support of European integration, the granting of economic aid, the establishment of technical assistance programs, the development of an information program and of organized cultural interchange, may be regarded as creative responses having important long-range implications. In the absence of a Soviet threat, however, some of these programs might never have been initiated.

15. What are the psychological consequences to a challenger of a success or of a serious setback? What are the psychological consequences of a successful response to a serious challenge?

16. How are the decisions relating to challenges and responses made in a given country? In this way an examination of the decision-making process can be brought in but without trying to make the entire analysis revolve around this single question.

17. What role is played by perception in the shaping of challenges and responses? A nation will design its actions according to its perception of the situation, which may or may not be highly distorted. Pursued along this line the challenge and response approach would tie in with the study of changing national attitudes and would be concerned with the question: "What image does this people, and/or its leaders, have of the situation which it is facing?"

18. What factors influence the swiftness and accuracy with which changes in the external situation are registered in a given country? Can the time-lag be reduced or can planning help a nation overcome its tendency to respond today to a situation that may have ceased to exist six months or even several years earlier?

19. In what way are the challenges and responses that can be undertaken limited by the human and material resources available?

General Merits of the Approach

This approach provides a schema that can be used in describing what has happened and in investigating why it has happened. By raising questions such as those above, it suggests new areas for investigation and must inevitably prove fertile in suggesting new hypotheses for testing. This approach is much more communicable than some of the recent over-complicated theories and has the further advantage that it links data

collection and theory development, allowing neither to proceed in isolation from the other.

To those concerned with the development of national policy it offers a systematic way of thinking about the position of the nation, the vulnerabilities of the opposition, and the possibilities for effective action. This country has learned less from its experience with Cold War than it should have. By asking the right kind of questions and by accumulating relevant data, it should become possible to make better decisions.

Challenge and response sequences at military, political, economic, propaganda and other levels would be interpreted as part of a single broad pattern and hence could be fitted into an overall picture.

This approach has the virtue of relating national and international affairs in an easy and natural way. Challenge and response among nations cannot be adequately understood if the morals, attitudes, politics and resources of a country are not studied.

This approach would serve as a bridge to a variety of disciplines. Historians, political scientists, social psychologists, geographers, military analysts, economists and others would be able to make a contribution in one or more areas. Research projects conducted with this general schema in mind would be capable of being related to one another, and hence would have a cumulative effect.

--Andrew M. Scott
Haverford College

10. THE GAME BAG

Mae Churchill of Ojai, California, subscribes to PROD but will have to write a note on something other than the movies, subject of her book of a few years ago.

For, "as it happens, the industry is dying. (Have you been to a neighborhood theatre lately? Don't. It's lonely there, except on Saturday nights when it's sort of a teen-

age brothel.) The only piquant aspect to the industry's terminal stage is that it coincides with the truly marvelous development of technics, both in production and exhibition. All of it utterly wasted on that small wavy vertiginous screen which is the new outlet for films. And the generation now growing up may never even know the beauty and delight of a perfectly clear sharp image on a screen."

PROD is negotiating with the UNESCO Social Science Bulletin and with Neue politische Literatur for liaison and free exchange of materials....Northwestern U.'s Department of Political Science is offering PROD subscriptions to the top student in several of its courses. We would be happy to see PROD used more extensively in Graduate education, whether by this method or by use in courses, as for instance is occurring at the U. of Wisconsin....Graduate students or classes are also invited to contribute notes to PROD.

A free subscription for noting the absence of the words "punched card" in PROD No. 3 goes to Alfred Diamant. The closest we came were the words "interviewers, coders, tabulating machines, and analyzers."...Considering how soon we had to give away a free subscription, perhaps we ought to give our next free subscription to the first person who writes a blistering letter canceling his subscription.

We are hosts to Joseph S. Roucek in this issue. As author or editor of ninety-odd books, he has some wise words for the young. He really needs no intro-

duction. Those who haven't read his books have helped him write them.

Professor Harold A. Fletcher, Jr., of Grinnell College, Iowa, would like to have the opinions of professors on the place and content of a course on Public Opinion and Propaganda in a small liberal arts college....PROD also invites examples of syllabi in this and other political science courses with a view toward occasionally publishing ones of significance and excellence.

We are still treated kindly by the brethren: Nathan Leites writes, "I am delighted to become a subscriber to your 'journal' if I may call as unstuffy a product by as conventional a name." Robert Lorish of Ohio Wesleyan sends a salute "for establishing a much-needed vehicle for the exchange of information in this field." Ross Beiler writes "I appreciate your initiative in this new effort." S. M. Lipset (U. of California) believes PROD "is a very good idea" and C. Herman Pritchett (U. of Chicago) hopes that the venture "goes well." Herbert Abelson of Opinion Research Corporation sends "encomium" for a "very lively journal"; S. Friedman of UNESCO finds it "informative and stimulating"; and Hans Hartenstein (Bad Godesberg) remarks that "it is a good idea to ease the process of communication between U. S. and European social science" via PROD. Still, "...the modest author cries, /Praise undeserved is scandal in disguise," and hopes that we may continue to improve and that our many praiseworthy colleagues will lend themselves to our pages.

* * * * *

ON THE FRONT COVER:

Symbols of one world, by Susanne K. Langer (from Common Cause, II (Apr., 1949), p. 339). Left column, reading from top: United Churches, International Red Cross, World Federalists, World Industry, World Navigation. Right column: World Radio, U.N. Palestine Commission, World Economy, U.N. Commissions, World Government.

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11. Private Enterprise and Economic Development

I. An increasingly important element in international politics is the industrialization of underdeveloped countries. While significant progress has been made in many of these countries, the existing gap of per capita income between them and so-called advanced countries is not decreasing. In fact, there is much evidence that it is widening. At the same time popular pressure is becoming so acute on this subject that in an increasing number of underdeveloped countries national and local elections are being fought almost exclusively along these lines. All too often the governments and the electorates single out "Western imperialism" as a scapegoat for an economic development which is less rapid than they desire. Meanwhile the Communists point with pride to their model, the Soviet Union, as possessing the economic system which within a few decades transformed a backward agricultural economy to a first-rate industrial power. Any slowdown in the rate of economic growth, therefore, is grist for the Communist mill.

II. The important role of public finance and government planning in the initiation of industrialization must be admitted. Some underdeveloped countries are fortunate enough to possess valuable natural resources (oil, rubber) or a large agricultural surplus (rice) which finance imports of capital equipment. Other nations, however, have to fall back upon taxation as a means of accumulating funds for capital imports. In any case, the government must undertake the construction of the social overhead (e.g., roads, railroads, power stations, etc.) because (a) existing domestic demand would not warrant such expenditure and (b) it can be financed only through long-term, low interest loans which are not very attractive to

domestic or foreign private investors. (British and French investments in foreign, including colonial, social overhead during the nineteenth and the early twentieth century were the result primarily of political objectives and of the highly unusual fact that the marginal efficiency of capital at home was extremely low.)

III. Although government planning is perhaps essential in launching a program of industrialization, it has one major weakness: political control. Thus economic efficiency predicated upon a long-run development may be jeopardized by immediate political advantages.

(a) As the process of capital formation proceeds, the demand for consumers' goods will rise sharply.

(b) Increased political, social and cultural contact with advanced industrial countries increases the desire of the electorate in an underdeveloped country for a higher standard of living, i.e., again more consumers' goods.

The popular pressure to divert development funds (i.e., government funds allocated for capital formation) to short-term consumption may well become politically unbearable.

IV. Given these conditions there are three courses open to the government. (These three courses are theoretical prototypes and in reality exist only in a mixed form).

(a) Arbitrary enforcement of a low level of consumption. This is impossible for an extended period within the democratic political framework. It would necessitate the existence or establishment of an authoritarian form of government.

(b) Submission to electoral demand and diversion of capital funds to current consumption. This would rapidly slow down the rate of economic growth and if pressure for consumer items continues or even increases, runaway inflation and the demoralization of the economy is likely to follow.

(c) Encouragement of domestic and foreign investment to enter into and expand domestic production of consumers' goods. Here existing demand and profit rates are favorable. The development of a strong private sector in the economy concentrating upon domestic production of consumers' goods would

1. release foreign exchange previously tied up in imports of consumers' goods for capital formation
2. relieve the inflationary pressure
3. relieve the political pressure for diversion of capital funds to current consumption
4. accelerate economic development.

V. Government can encourage and can foster private enterprise. It cannot create it. Social and cultural factors play a preeminent role in such vital areas as savings habits, investment patterns or entrepreneurship. The prevalent concept of the nature of property (absolute or relative possession,

use, etc.) for example, will largely decide what form the income margin over subsistence level will take. Similarly the rigidity of the social structure, i.e., the ease with which one may acquire increased prestige and power, the value priorities within the social structure which determine the criteria for advancement (accident of birth, military values, wealth, etc.) will indicate whether there can be a valid expectation for private investment on the broad scale. In terms of this model then the answer to the question whether a type of capitalist ethic exists, even in its early stages in the underdeveloped countries, assumes major importance.

VI. Such a study need not be based in all cases upon individual countries. Some Arab countries, the countries which formerly comprised French Indo-China, or parts of Africa, for example, may well be considered on a regional basis.

VII. Among the methods used in a project of this kind are (a) family budget analyses; (b) evaluation of bank deposit patterns; (c) study of credit policies; (d) analysis of the social background of existing stockholders and commercial and industrial managers; and (e) elite studies.

VIII. Much work has already been done in collection of data (e.g., World Bank reports), but so far no systematic attempt has been made to correlate material available.

--Karl von Vorys
Harvard University

12. Organismic Study of Executives

The Problem:

A great deal of money and effort is being spent by businesses, foundations, government jurisdictions, and universities on the

search for the key to effective executive performance. And rightly so! With society increasingly run by public and private bureaucracies, welfare and even survival may rest with the an-

swers to two strategic questions:

1. What constitutes successful executive action?
2. Why do some men succeed and others fail in executive positions?

Diffuse problems attend any effort to answer the strategic questions. For simplicity and brevity, reflect on them in terms of one important group--the career executive in government. What do we need to know and what do we know?

First, we need to know what his job is--and the answer is obscure. His activities, relationships, roles, and purposes are nowhere adequately defined. We rely on hearsay, myth, and the limited recall of a few who have held such positions and written about them.

Part of the trouble, of course, may be that the job is so varied it is impossible to define. We have a hunch, but cannot prove, that career executive jobs are generically similar. If this is true, it may also be true that the varied environments and programs of separate departments make the jobs so different that generic elements become, if not unimportant, at least incapable of common analysis that will yield significant results.

Second, we need a standard for success. The common standards of survival and continued advancement, while operationally simple, leave much to be desired. The man who survives and prospers at any cost is seldom honored. Desires for purity in research methods should not force us to desert such common sense. Distasteful though it may be to the current disposition of many researchers, such ethical questions must be seriously treated.

Third, we need to know how

men who meet this standard for success function in their jobs and how men who fail to meet it function in theirs. This problem is complex. Career government executives are not a unified group. Success depends upon the adaptation of techniques and approaches suited to the individual personality, operating in a particular environment. Artistry and style in executive performance, as in painting and sculpture, are many-faceted and conditioned by numerous factors internal and external to the individual. To know why men succeed or fail, we need to view the whole man in his total situation. This is seldom attempted or done well.

Fourth, and finally, we need sound general concepts and rules to enable us to describe reality and reason about it in this area. All too often those we now use tend to distort facts and situations by their ambiguity or by imposing on them an artificial pattern. New concepts are needed. How broad they can be made cannot be predicted. This will depend both on what we find to be true and on our ingenuity in interpreting facts and selecting a communicable language with which to describe them.

General Approaches to the Problem:

Those familiar with this subject know that many general answers have been suggested for the questions posed at the outset. Most often, they are "armchair" views--products of thoughtful reflection on experience and observation. Regrettably, the empirical basis for them is frequently left locked in the observer's mind, making comparative analysis and evaluation impossible.

It is also difficult to assess the values and motivations leading to the advocacy of such views. Even (or perhaps especially) distinguished men may idealize their own experiences and career pat-

terns, elevating them to a model for all. Interpretations of the executive's job and the characteristics he needs may be drawn to justify a particular approach to his education, born in turn of a primary devotion to one educational philosophy. Political values may also color thinking, leading to assertions of fact that are more nearly descriptions of what the advocate believes ought to be true.

Elemental Approaches:

In efforts to find a better solution to this problem, significant interest has been aroused by various approaches which may generally be described as "elemental"--efforts to break the whole of the executive's work into sets of discrete functions and to assess the executive's capacities in terms of aptitudes and traits. Examples of this are numerous in the operations of many large business firms and some government agencies. Major contributors include such men as Robert Katz, Carroll Shartle, and Edward Strong.

The major advantages suggested for this method, especially in the investigation of executives' attributes, are well known. It permits more objective measurement, often through the use of standardized tests. Research in terms of standard categories facilitates the comparison of data drawn from different situations and the development of more powerful general concepts for use in description and analysis. Perhaps most important, the method provides a predictive tool useful in the selection of executive personnel.

The difficulties with the method are discussed less often. One important problem is the possibility that the traits, aptitudes, and other categories used in analysis are either not the important ones or totally fictitious. Often they are ambiguous. Many of them

have been transferred into this area from other lines of inquiry, on the unproven presumption that they are both applicable and valuable. Somewhere along the way we should try to find out if this is true.

Much more vital however is this related problem: elemental approaches may distort reality by artificially separating the individual from the function and both from their particular setting. Few of the concepts used encompass the dynamism of all three taken together. While such limited concepts may serve as valuable indices for predictive purposes, they should not be assumed to describe reality nor to provide a valid basis for general theory. This important distinction is too often ignored in much of social science.

Difficulties related to the validity and reliability of tests used in elemental analysis have been well stated elsewhere and are of only passing importance here.

An "Organismic" Approach:

My analysis to this point has emphasized the unity of individual, function, and setting in the executive's job. This view parallels the philosophical concept of "organism," a highly complex thing or structure with parts so integrated that their relation to one another is governed by their relation to the whole. The analytical approach I would suggest to preserve this unity is therefore appropriately, although awkwardly, termed "organismic."

To unravel the problem of securing effective executive performance, we first need a fair amount of reasonably objective information. Our present plight seems at least partially due to an eagerness to do too much with too few facts. What is called for is a series of thorough descriptions of executives in operation, designed to reveal fully the individual's particular artistry in doing a par-

ticular job in a particular setting.

Except for a few biographies and autobiographies of limited utility, no such body of information is available at present. Some examples of what I have in mind occur in novels, such as Trollope's The Prime Minister, Disraeli's Coningsby and Sybil, Wouk's The Caine Mutiny, and Dostoevsky's The Brothers Karamazov. A few other more limited examples occur in cases prepared for the Inter-University Case Program, although the approach suggested here should not be equated with the case approach.

The research man undertaking such a series requires exceptional skill as an observer of social behavior and as a writer, in order to capture the essence of an individual's behavior in a situation and to convey it effectively to others. Although he should be generally familiar with the context of his work--the world and problems of the executive--it would probably be preferable if he were not an expert accustomed to working with the accepted interpretive patterns in the field, for his greatest hazard would be the imposition of an artificial form on his subject. The skills, if not the orthodoxies, of the cultural anthropologist and the

the psychiatrist would be invaluable.

Hopefully, from data prepared in this way broad descriptive concepts, linking man, function and setting, would ultimately emerge, to serve as a basis for later investigations and for theoretical analysis. However, this step should not be taken too hastily nor should it be too easily assumed possible. It may also develop that such data would demonstrate the descriptive validity of assumptions and analytical concepts now used and permit a sounder use of "elemental" studies. This would be reassuring.

A final word should be added about the teaching uses of such a series. We are seriously limited now in our ability to convey to the student an adequate sense of the reality in executive activity. Case studies now available help him to experience vicariously the decision process. "Organismic" cases of the type I have described could help him to experience vicariously the executive life and perhaps to learn sooner that important lesson: There are no infallible rules for the unique case; each man must work out his own destiny.

--Carl F. Stover
The Brookings Institution

13. Memoir of an Inveterate Writer

After publishing over more than a quarter of a century what are commonly known as "scholarly contributions," which have appeared here and abroad in the form of several hundred articles and some ninety books (which I have written, edited or collaborated on), I am inclined to look at the past with misgivings--and to the future with cynicism. Was it worth it--all the efforts, energy, investment in research trips, typing expenses, repairing of typewriters, paper and postage costs?

If I were to be asked the question, "Would you do this again?" I would answer very quickly, and most brutally, --"Never again!" There might be the often talked of "spiritual rewards" for the "Work Well Done!"--but I have yet to see the "appreciation" that society is supposed to show to the man devoted to the advancement of knowledge.

This is painful. But what really hurts is the speed with which one's contributions are delegated to oblivion, speed due in part to

the growing number of periodicals in the field and even more to the growing pressure to have the younger scholars publish. One is ready to go into Pagliaccio's last laugh when encountering, time and time again, articles which deal with a field already covered but which give the appearance of a "novel approach," by simply ignoring what had been dealt with academically before.

Yet, although nothing lasts, paradoxically it is not hard to keep up with the ever-rising flood of old and new material in social science. At first I used to visit outstanding libraries around the country or abroad. After years of experiment, I finally started my own library; I built shelves in my cellar, and placed grocery boxes on them, marking them with topics alphabetically from "The Army" through "Elites," "Political Sociology," "Social Thinkers" and "Yugoslavia." I follow carefully the literature in the field, including the pack of specialized material that the mail brings, the reprints of articles which are easily secured by asking the proud authors for them, and the summaries of books or excerpts of books which I copy with my camera. All of these are filed away in the boxes. Within two or three years' time I have available to me quite a lot of literature on my selected up-dated topics; the rest I borrow by inter-library loan or request that my library purchase.

The difficulty does not lie, therefore, in the gathering of material but in placing it. Most periodicals are dominated by small groups, and especially by editors who insist, more than they would acknowledge, that contributions should mirror their opinions. Even worse, editors follow the "old army game" by propounding that they make the best selection from what is submitted. Why then are some of their friends, whose names appear suspiciously often in the same periodical, scheduled

two to three years in advance to have their articles published?

What is quality? Roughly, only what the editor thinks in terms of his background, his "school tie," his specialty, and his personal contacts. How can one explain otherwise why, after certain editors refuse even to look at my articles, I am often able to place the pieces in other periodicals of better reputation? Recently, after my study of "American Geopolitics" had been rejected by four periodicals, I was able to place it abroad, have it translated into German at the periodical's expense, and get a fat fee for it!

The game of publishing books is even tougher. In spite of grand claims of making "scholarly contributions," all publishers (including University presses) are only willing to make such contributions when said contributions at least pay for themselves, or are subsidized, or are sure to make a profit. To get started I had to pay a University Press \$3,000 for a book; the Press, in selling out the whole issue of 4,000 copies, must have made at least \$10,000--with not a single penny of return to me. Later, I got a little wiser and broke into the textbook field. Again I became quite disillusioned that I made hardly any profits by a book of my own--the difficulty being that the adoptions depend more often than not on association with a large university which controls adoptions in courses there and at satellite colleges where texts are required.

Then, since I was teaching at a smaller institution and could not control a large distribution, I had the idea to edit symposia, contributed to by instructors who controlled adoptions in larger institutions. The idea worked like a charm for a while. We learned that you can sign up practically any well-known scholar (1) by having him write the article, for a few dollars or for guaranteed roy-

ties, with the promise of having his contribution published, or (2) by writing the article for him and paying him a fee for the use of his name.

This is really a good business, but the difficulty is that the execution is followed by the law of diminishing returns. Some collaborators, after receiving sizable checks (usually right after Christmas, when their bank balances are low) soon decide, prompted by their departments or by friends, to publish their own books. One can safely say that if a book is successful it is bound to find itself in severe competition with at least one similar book within two years' time. The textbook business is like the movie business--one spectacular success and the cycle of imitation begins.

The form of publication I have just described is really a rat-race. The average life of a textbook is at most five years. The sales, in fact, rapidly fall off after the first year, since the students resell their copies to each other. Within the following two to three years competing books come out, each making the loud claim that it constitutes the awaited great improvement on the "other miserable book."

So one finds that one has to publish in related fields. Most editors of periodicals and books don't want to print the same author repeatedly--whether or not he is good. They do not want to put all their eggs into one basket. If the author has any productive urge he is really stuck, for the fields of specialization are jealously guarded. My specialty has been International Relations from the very beginning, and I cannot see, by any stretch of imagination, justification for its separation from Political Geography, Military Sociology, Social Theory (Theory of Power, Imperialism, Internationalism), International Economics, Comparative Government,

International Law, and so on down the line. It is, therefore, only occasionally that one dares to sneak into these sacred fields and face the criticism that one is "trying to do too much." But, on further examination, what is too much? So much overlapping--not only desirable, but essential--is constantly going on in the field of knowledge! But the predominant claim of the ruling elements in the publishing business is that "real scholars" should not invade each other's sacred precincts. (The answer: publish under different names; or set up stooges, pay them for the use of their names, write the material, and collect the advances back in royalties.)

The publishers are in themselves a special tribal group which needs yet to be examined; the genus is that of "Zwischenmann" ("In-Between-Man"). Most editors I have known have been former book salesmen who sold any and all kinds of books--thus knowing little or nothing about all kinds of fields. They have been able, from the labors of writers, to build such palaces as the McGraw-Hill building in New York. The editors take one or two annual trips around the country, entertaining themselves and their friends, at the expense of the company, "searching for new talent"--meaning mostly the individuals in key positions who determine or can influence the adoption of textbooks in a large institution. They sign up some promising prospects, hoping that they can prod a book out of them later. If the prodding is unsuccessful, the editors frequently have the works of the more important individuals written for them. For the lesser lights (the highest category to which I seem to have been assigned) the process of evaluation is more cautious. Every contract provides that the book has to satisfy the publisher--meaning not the publisher but the publisher's editor or consultant. The names of such editors and consultants are carefully hidden, so that we cannot begrudge

them the high fees they get or criticize their judgment. They are often remarkable characters; seldom do they complete a reading of a manuscript within three months. Although the job could be done over a week-end, they wish to impress the publisher that their fees are more than justified. The "editorial" criticism amounts generally either to rejection, couched in violent and emotional terms, or to reluctant acceptance with cautions to the publisher that the book be accepted only after "this" or "that" footnote is changed, the topic improved, the approach modified. Here the adviser lets his personal prejudices run amok because he has an unusual chance to inflate his own ego. Since the publisher knows "from nothing" he always accepts the adviser's advice (what would he be paying him for?). The author, if he knows what is good for him, better kow-tow to these "advisers," if he wants to get his book published at all; it is immaterial if the book flops later because the adviser's advice was followed.

The publishers have to be watched carefully and, as one rolls along, one learns their tricks too. The usual contract is composed of four closely-printed pages which, I am sure, no author ever reads. But the contract al-

ways includes many little clauses that bring certain grief to the author. For instance, every contract prohibits the author from publishing a book that might compete with his original book; but publishers often publish books in the same field which thus compete with the original book. Sometimes royalties are paid only on the price which the publisher gets (roughly equivalent to the wholesale price), rather than on the price listed on the book-jacket. Sometimes the publisher reserves the gains of royalties from sales abroad for himself. Sometimes he charges "bookkeeping expenses" to the author's royalties.

To conclude: "Never again!" Probably the only real awards accruing to individuals of my category from scholarly writing can be found in infrequent invitations to address learned societies (usually at the speaker's expense); in well-paid trips to lecture at, for instance Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama; in the flattery of constant invitations to contribute to this or that journal (assignments paying \$50 at most); and in most touching displays of deference shown one when touring European countries (of course at one's own expense).

--Joseph S. Roucek
University of Bridgeport

14. More on Voters' Information About Candidates

As a result of a study reported by Ithiel de Sola Pool, PROD, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 15-18, a class in Public Opinion Research decided to conduct a study of a special primary for state representative in another Massachusetts city, in November, 1957. The main purpose was to check Pool's finding about the degree of voter knowledge of and familiarity with candidates; an additional purpose suggested by a professional colleague was to determine voter

conception of the duties of the holder of a minor state office. A special primary (in a district such as this one where nomination is equivalent to election) is particularly suitable for testing Pool's hypothesis because in a special primary few of the adventitious excitements arising out of a presidential or gubernatorial contest operate to inform people. This primary was also satisfactory because twelve candidates filed or ran on stickers, ten of them in the

primary of the majority party.

Two reasonably typical adjacent precincts were selected for sampling; the interviewees were chosen by name, roughly 25 house numbers apart, omitting a few whose occupation according to the police listing seemed very atypical of the area, and minimizing the representation of one minority group, for this reason: After the study was set up, a candidate who does live in the precinct started a sticker campaign; he, however, belongs to a particular minority group, and it was believed (apparently correctly judging from poll and election results) that he would appeal chiefly to members of this group.

The precincts selected were precincts in which none of the candidates filing lived;¹ their boundaries have been stable for half a century or so; in the last special primary for state representative held in the district they gave the winner the same percentage of votes that the entire district did; and in the contest for State Treasurer in the majority party primary in 1956 they gave the winner the same percentage of votes that the city as a whole did.² In socio-economic characteristics, the area has been reasonably stable (predominantly Irish-American, predominantly textile workers or service occupation personnel) so far as known for many years past, and it appears representative of most of the city and district. It also resembles the area in which Pool conducted his study, except (1) there are some residential apartments in the Cambridge area and (2) the Cambridge area, although fairly stable, has probably ex-

perienced more out-migration to the outer suburbs.

Findings: The amount of personal knowledge of and contact with candidates was even greater than that reported by Pool. Thirty-three (out of forty-five) persons interviewed in the first round of interviewing were able to name without any list of candidates being supplied them one or more candidates with whom they were personally acquainted. These 33 persons reported 57 acquaintanceships among them. When the interviewees were given the list of candidates, 97 acquaintanceships were reported! Due to improper planning, or lack of foresight, not all the 97 reported acquaintanceships can be taken at face value, although, I believe, all the 57 can be. Some of the 97 may be people who feel they "know" a candidate because he has sent them a letter or otherwise communicated with them directly; here there may be a difference between the busy professional man, deluged with direct mail and letters, and the voter who receives so little mail that such a communication is actually regarded as personal.

The greatest number of acquaintanceships were reported with the two candidates who did best in the area, one the winner; still more remarkable the only clearly false identifications--that is, naming of people as candidates who were not in fact running--were made by persons who had been out of the city for some weeks and assumed or guessed that candidates who had run in the November City Council elections would also run in the November primary.³

When asked what kind of man ought to be elected answers ran: "good" in some general form, 14;

1. Running on stickers can be decided upon at any time, of course; the sticker candidate who lives in the area did conduct an active campaign.
2. None of the candidates in 1949 lived in the precincts; and none of the candidates for State Treasurer in 1956 has any close personal tie with the city.
3. The third greatest number of acquaintanceships was reported with a man whose name is very much like that of a defeated (for re-election)

"intelligent" in some general form, 7; "experienced" in some more or less general form, 9; "family man," 7; "honest" in some general form, 11; others, including "don't know," 13. (Several respondents named more than one such quality.) Only four respondents at most suggested specifics; getting jobs for people or wearing the kind of clothes regarded by some people in the state as the dress for state representatives (homburg, chesterfield, etc.) were the more specific suggestions.

Some interviewers found rapport previously existent lessened or fractured when, toward the end of the interview, the question was asked: "By the way, what would you say are the most important things a representative does?" Answers were often recapitulations of the answers to the question about the kind of man who should be elected; however, 25 out of 45 made some reference to legislative or representative functions, usually in general terms (e.g., "represent the people," "vote for the right things"). The interviewers would have preferred to omit any such question in a replication of the interview because it made them uncomfortable to see how uncomfortable this question, directly asked, made the respondents; in future studies it should be phrased in a less threatening fashion if this is possible. The fact that the average education of the group is probably

less than 9 years and that they are somewhat older than an average interview population may have accentuated this difficulty. However, even so, 14 out of 45 flatly stated that they do not know what a state representative does.

Needed Follow-Ups: The greatest weakness of both Pool's and the present study is that they interviewed people who were accessible. This is inevitable with unpaid interviewers; but there may be good reasons why those who are less accessible are less familiar with local politicians. (For one thing, many of the less accessible work out of town; many of the accessible are retired, or housewives, or work in town.)

The senior writer of this study is strongly inclined to the belief that, within the Democratic party in the Northeast at least, there is an adverse correlation between education and "civic knowledge," defined as knowledge of candidates for state or local minor offices.

Careful study of this hypothesis with recurrent efforts to locate those unavailable when first sought for might revise our conceptions of effective citizenship in some significant regards.

--Lewis A. Dexter,
with the assistance of J. Leary,
S. Bodor, J. McClinchey,
D. Connors, R. Zuckerberg,
E. Sheldon, and M. Nanjappan
Belmont, Massachusetts

incumbent city councilman. Probably some of the respondents thought they were referring to the latter rather than to the actual candidate for state representative; but equally probably some of them may have cast their vote in the primary with the same false impression. The fourth greatest number of acquaintanceships reported was with the minority group sticker candidate who actually lives in one of the precincts. Neither the 57 nor 97 acquaintanceships cited above include the reports of acquaintanceships with persons who are not running.

15. REVIEW: System and Process in International Politics

Morton A. Kaplan

(New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957; \$6.50)

According to its author, this book "attempts to chart the equilibrium conditions for six different models of international systems, the characteristic behavior of such systems, and the transformations which such systems undergo when the equilibrium conditions no longer hold" (p. xviii). Professor Kaplan warns his readers that "the hypotheses of this book must be viewed as tentative rather than as representative of a finished theory," but expresses his "hope that at least the proper path has been chosen" (p. xviii).

The path is that of rigorous, highly abstract analysis. It is not balanced, in the main, by any extensive use of facts from broader areas of human experience. There is relatively scant use of history or literature, of statistics and of such behavioral research data as interviews and poll results by which the proposed generalizations could be tested. The main merit of the book consists rather in having laid out in skeleton form certain problems of international politics in such a manner that it should now perhaps be somewhat easier to isolate particular propositions and to subject them to empirical testing in the future.

The first part of the book deals with "Systems of Action," utilizing to some extent the sociological terms developed by Talcott Parsons; it sets forth the basic units and models for analysis (Chs. 1-3). A second part deals with "Processes" of various kinds (Chs. 4-6), and a third part treats of "Values" (Chs. 7-8). A fourth part is devoted to "Strategy," and

presents various elaborations of the theory of games (Chs. 9-11), including a very interesting discussion of "The 'Learning,' Stochastic, or Recursive Game" (pp. 223-241). A final part called "Conclusion," consists of a single chapter called "Unified Theory"; while no unified theory is presented there, the author concludes that "many clues from game theory were...employed in choosing the hypotheses enunciated in Part One. The four aspects of theory treated in this volume...constitute a unified and coherent whole" (p. 250). Two appendices discuss, respectively, additional aspects of "The Mechanisms of Regulation"—largely in terms taken from psychology—and "The Realm of Values," largely in terms of images taken from neurology and pathology, with emphasis on the desirability of social and psychological changes that would reduce or eliminate irreconcilable cleavages of interest (p. 280). A similar emphasis is presented earlier, in the discussion of the power contest between the United States and the Soviet Union, which stressed the desirability of greater tolerance for delay and the hope that the two rival systems "may develop values in common and thereby enter a game permitting a mutually satisfactory outcome" (p. 235).

Professor Kaplan's book attempts to apply to the complex problems of international politics certain highly abstract analytical techniques which still need considerable development to fit them more fully for this purpose. Nevertheless, his approach already demonstrates its usefulness in

such sections as the lucid and suggestive discussion of international systems in Chapter 2, or in the interesting hypotheses about "The Integrative and the Disintegrative Processes" in Chapter 5, even though the latter chapter limits itself to relatively few aspects of what is more commonly understood by political integration. The long sections on game theory make forbidding reading, and some readers may find some of the earlier articles by Jacob Marschak and others not less useful, and far more accessible to non-mathematicians. There is reason to hope, however, that Professor Kaplan will work out more specific applications for his more elaborate techniques in the course of his further work. The discussion

of such concepts as "feedback" and "hierarchy" shows weakness in definitions and some surprising gaps in the command of the available literature. Parts of the book read like a collection of notes rather than like a completed study. After all these reservations, however, one is left with a sense of respect for the seriousness of the author's endeavor, and with appreciation for the ingenious and very useful contributions which he makes in parts of his analysis; and with the hope that he will continue his productive and pertinent efforts to apply analytical methods more closely to the observable facts of international politics.

--Karl W. Deutsch
M. I. T.

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THIS COMPREHENSIVE INVESTIGATION OF GROUP BEHAVIOR IS a study of the effective emotional factors on group meetings. Through numerous behavioral test samplings the authors have singled out the factors that handicap most group meetings. They consider how emotional factors can be used to the best advantage, and how a group's makeup affects its actions.

The President: Office and Powers by Edward S. Corwin (519 pp; \$6.50)

THE CLASSIC EXAMINATION into the historical development of the Presidential office and its gradual accretion of power, newly analyzing political events as they have affected the Presidency during the past nine years. "In its new edition, The President: Office and Powers is not one book but a veritable library....By the time the author has finished his fascinating study, the nation's chief magistrate is seen in the light of the whole bewildering array of responsibilities and frustrations that today are pretty nearly his daily life."--*N. Y. Times*.

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SOME OF THE BEST KNOWN SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN THE COUNTRY studied the values and limitations of team research in a series of conferences sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health. Margaret Barron Luszki, a psychologist who participated in all the conferences, here reports on them.

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17. ET AL.:

HENRI COMPTÉ DE SAINT-SIMON:

Suggestions for Elite Research Varying the Control Group, 1819¹

Suppose that France suddenly lost fifty of her best physicists, chemists, physiologists, mathematicians, poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, writers; fifty of her best mechanical engineers, civil and military engineers, artillery experts, architects, doctors, surgeons, apothecaries, seamen, locksmiths; fifty of her best bankers, two hundred of her best business men, two hundred of her

best farmers, fifty of her best iron-masters, arms manufacturers, tanners, dyers, miners, cloth-makers, cotton manufacturers, silk-makers, linen-makers, manufacturers of hardware, of pottery and china, of crystal and glass, ship chandlers, carriers, printers, engravers, goldsmiths, and other metal-workers; her fifty best masons, carpenters, joiners, farriers, locksmiths, cutlers,

F. M. H. Markham, ed. Henri Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825): Selected Writings. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1952, pp. 72-75. Permission for citation granted by The Macmillan Company.

smelters, and a hundred other persons of various unspecified occupations, eminent in the sciences, fine arts, and professions; making in all the three thousand leading scientists, artists, and artisans of France.

These men are the Frenchmen who are the most essential producers, those who make the most important products, those who direct the enterprises most useful to the nation, those who contribute to its achievements in the sciences, fine arts and professions. They are in the most real sense the flower of French society; they are, above all Frenchmen, the most useful to their country, contribute most to its glory, increasing its civilization and prosperity. The nation would become a lifeless corpse as soon as it lost them. It would immediately fall into a position of inferiority compared with the nations which it now rivals, and would continue to be inferior until this loss had been replaced, until it had grown another head. It would require at least a generation for France to repair this misfortune; for men who are distinguished in work of positive ability are exceptions, and nature is not prodigal of exceptions, particularly in this species.

Let us pass on to another assumption. Suppose that France preserves all the men of genius that she possesses in the sciences, fine arts and professions, but has the misfortune to lose in the same day Monsieur the King's brother, Monseigneur le duc d'Angoulême, Monseigneur le duc de Berry, Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans, Monseigneur le duc de Bourbon, Madame la duchesse d'Angoulême, Madame la duchesse de Berry, Madame la duchesse d'Orléans, Madame la duchesse de Bourbon, and Mademoiselle de Condé. Suppose that France loses at the same time all the great officers of the royal household, all the ministers (with or without portfolio), all the

councillors of state, all the chief magistrates, marshals, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, and canons, all the prefects and sub-prefects, all the civil servants, and judges, and, in addition, ten thousand of the richest proprietors who live in the style of nobles.

This mischance would certainly distress the French, because they are kind-hearted, and could not see with indifference the sudden disappearance of such a large number of their compatriots. But this loss of thirty-thousand individuals, considered to be the most important in the State, would only grieve them for purely sentimental reasons and would result in no political evil for the State....

The prosperity of France can only exist through the effects of the progress of the sciences, fine arts and professions. The Prince the great household officials, the Bishops, Marshals of France, prefects and idle landowners contribute nothing directly to the progress of the sciences, fine arts and professions. Far from contributing they only hinder, since they strive to prolong the supremacy existing to this day of conjectural ideas over positive science. They inevitably harm the prosperity of the nation by depriving, as they do, the scientists, artists, and artisans of the high esteem to which they are properly entitled. They are harmful because they expend their wealth in a way which is of no direct use to the sciences, fine arts, and professions: they are harmful because they are a charge on the national taxation, to the amount of three or four hundred millions under the heading of appointments, pensions, gifts, compensations, for the upkeep of their activities which are useless to the nation.

These suppositions underline the most important fact of present politics: they provide a point of view from which we can see this

fact in a flash in all its extent; they show clearly, though indirectly, that our social organization is seriously defective: that men still

allow themselves to be governed by violence and ruse, and that the human race (politically speaking) is still sunk in immorality.

18. EDITORIAL: An Examination of Conscience

The theological magazine, Cross Currents, published last fall a remarkable Examination of Conscience for adults. The virtues of this ancient practice, in non-Catholic as well as Catholic settings, suggests its imitation by the Political Science profession.

Political Scientists like to recite the sins of politicians. Indeed some so maliciously enjoy this inculpation that one sees all too apparently in them the "private motive displaced onto public objects and rationalized in terms of the public advantage." Dozens of books, articles, symposia and panels have dwelt upon the morality of officials. The fancy reaches its peak in an elaboration of codes of ethics for public servants.

Expert, external moral criticism of our politicians is in general necessary and good. However, one seeks vainly for a corresponding expert and internal criticism. Do we begin each day, or each week, or each year asking whether we are morally, as well as technically, deficient, as Political Scientists? Do we ever do so? Probably not. It is likely that most of us have never considered whether there was a moral sense appropriate to and peculiar to our profession.

Yet we know, if we think of it, that we have moral problems as teachers of political science. We often commit injustices. For instance, we do not flunk enough students; we let poor students get Ph.D.'s; we play favorites; we resent bright but arrogant students; we discriminate against women students. We deliver lectures to

escape from discussing problems with live students; we preserve and increase curricular restrictions; we make it difficult for students to study elsewhere. We escape physically from our students, or we surrender to them by talking football instead of Political Science; we are often unserious, immature, hypocritical, hypercritical, clanish, gossipy; we conduct campus vendettas, and squabble over \$50 pay increases. We may even proscribe the works of men we envy, both in our classes and in our writings. We behave like organization men rather than like a community of equal scholars. We play to the crowd, preoccupy ourselves with the university's public relations, trifle away our energies on newspapers and semi-popular magazines and consume the years in superficially relevant civic behavior. We cease to read or to write.

Merely consider all of these faults that lie within us! University administrators will not banish them; no federal aid program will cure them; no inevitable and splendid march of Truth will grind them into the dust.

Consequently, it is forgivable and in order to ask for more self-criticism--even for bare listings of the criteria of self-criticism. PROD will be happy to publish them. Seven hundred years ago Roger Bacon wrote: "It is impossible that the mind should lie calm in the sunlight of truth while it is spotted with evil....virtue clears the mind so that one can better understand not only ethical, but even scientific things."

Political Research

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